

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME X, NUMBER 5

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 7, 1940

Far East Tense As Japan Moves South

Penetration of Indo-China Brings Japanese Closer to the East Indies and Burma

AIMS ARE NOT YET CLEAR

Control of Indo-Chinese Resources and Bases for Further Attacks Seen as Possible Objectives

International tension has been mounting steadily in the Far East during recent weeks, apparently stimulated by a succession of somewhat ominous events. The first of these was the invasion of French Indo-China by the Japanese. The United States quickly countered with a \$25,000,000 loan to the Chinese government, and with an embargo on scrap iron and steel exports which will fall most heavily upon Japan. By way of reply, the Japanese entered into an alliance with Germany and Italy, and are now attempting to bring Russia into the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo front. On top of all this there is talk that the United States may make use of Britain's great naval base at Singapore, and that the British may reopen the famous road from Burma into China to permit a flow of supplies to the Chinese armies.

The implications of these developments as they affect the United States are discussed elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. So far as the Far East is concerned, all eyes are now fixed on the troops Japan is sending into Indo-China. Why they are being sent there, and what part they propose to play in the creation of Japan's "new order" in East Asia is one of the questions of the hour. To appreciate the significance of the move it would be well to look at Indo-China itself.

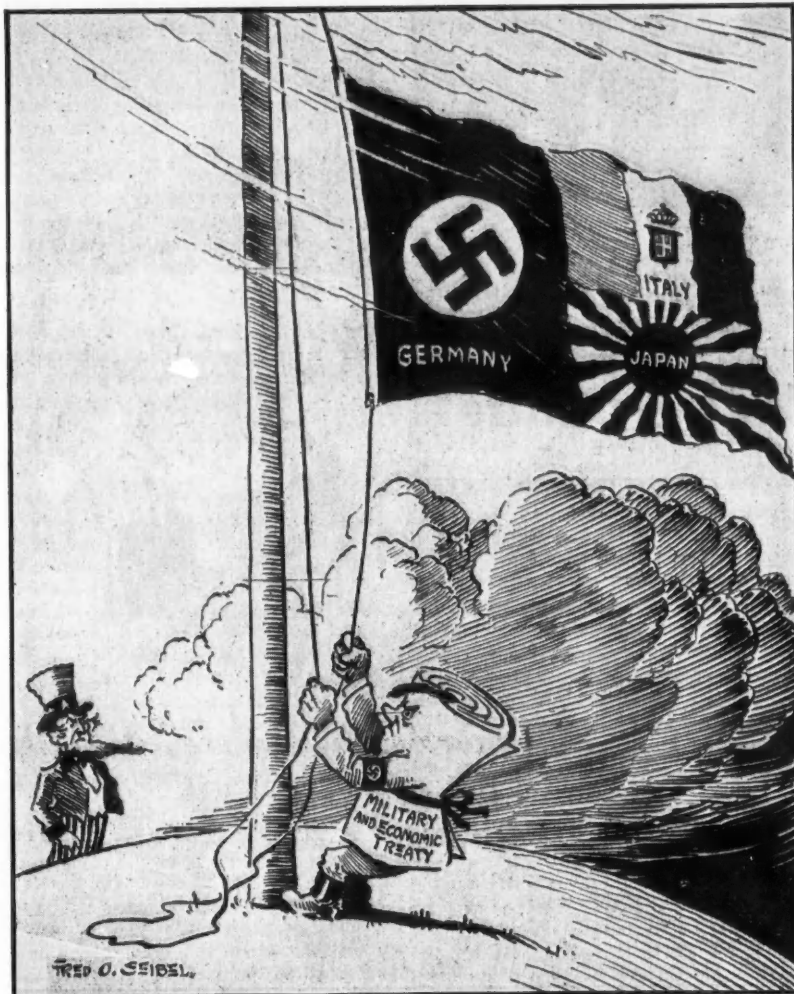
French Indo-China

The term Indo-China was formerly applied to that irregular peninsula jutting from the mainland of southeast Asia toward the East Indies, its base resting between India and China. Today the term is used to designate the French-controlled lands on the eastern shore of that peninsula. Lying between Thailand (Siam), China, Burma, and the South China Sea, French Indo-China resembles a large turnip squeezed in the middle. Slightly larger than Texas in area, it resembles England in shape, and contains half as many people.

French Indo-China is not, strictly speaking, a single political unit. It comprises one colony (Cochin-China, which is represented directly in the French parliament), four protectorates (Cambodia, Laos, Annam, and Tonkin), and one territory leased from China—Kwangchowwan. These six regions are administered by six different governing bodies which, in turn, are held together by a governor-general responsible directly to the French colonial ministry.

What unity exists in French Indo-China is more racial than political. With the exception of 400,000 Chinese and about 43,000 Europeans, its 23,000,000 people are comprised entirely of Annamites, a gentle, easygoing race which might be described as a cross between the Chinese and Hindus of India. It is the Annamites who lend color and individuality to Indo-China and its problems. They are unwarlike. Normally they will not engage in coolie labor, nor do they possess sufficient initiative to develop their own plantations, mills, and utilities.

(Concluded on page 7)



STORM WARNING IN THE EAST

SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

U.S. Ponders Course In New Axis Threat

Consequences of Triple Alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan to America Studied

PACT DIRECTED AGAINST US

Designed to Prevent U. S. from Joining War by Holding Out Threat of Two-Ocean Conflict

Most people were startled when they read, a little over a week ago, that Germany, Italy, and Japan had formed an alliance and that it was directed against the United States. Since then those who follow public affairs have been trying to figure out what the pact will mean to this country and what influence, if any, it should have upon our foreign policies. Before we get into that question, let us see just what the treaty of alliance provides.

The governments of Germany, Italy, and Japan declare, first, that there is to be a "new order" in the world, a new order in Europe and one in Asia. Germany and Italy are to run things in Europe. That is what the declaration really means. And Japan is to be the leading power, the nation which dominates the Far East.

Against the U. S.

Then comes the provision which most closely affects the United States. The pact declares that these three nations will help each other if any power not now at war should make war against any one of them. This means that if the United States should interfere with Japan's dominance of the Far East to the point of going to war with that country, Germany and Italy will assist the Japanese. It means further that if the United States should assist England to the point of going to war against Germany and Italy, Japan would make war upon the United States.

The clear purpose of the treaty of alliance is to prevent America from interfering with Japan in the Far East and also to prevent this country from giving too much assistance to England. The makers of the pact apparently felt that the United States might be kept in a neutral position if the American people were led to believe that if they started a war in either ocean they would have a two-ocean war on their hands.

The more Americans think the situation over, however, the more likely are they to conclude that the announcement of the pact left conditions about where they had been. The pact, after all, was not such big news as the headlines of the day indicated. Those most familiar with affairs had known that there was a close understanding among the Germans, the Italians, and the Japanese, and that in case America went to war with any one of them, the other two would be hostile toward this country and would do anything possible to help defeat us.

There has been little question of the intentions of any of these three nations. The question has not been, what would these nations like to do to the United States, but what have they the power to do? What, for example, could Japan do about it if the United States should go to war with Germany and Italy? And what would Germany and Italy do about it if the United States should go to war with Japan? These are questions which the American people must turn over in their minds.

Let us suppose, first, that this country should get into the war on the side of England. We are already helping the English

(Concluded on page 6)

The Quality of Speech

BY WALTER E. MYER

Most of us look back to our infancy as the period of our most remarkable educational achievement. The ordinary baby performs an amazing feat during his second and third years. He masters a foreign language—foreign to him. He doesn't master it completely, but he learns to use it fairly well. He learns the names of most of the articles with which he comes into contact, and he learns to describe his most pressing desires. By the age of three he has acquired a vocabulary fairly adequate to his needs. He has done this under the spur of necessity; in order that he may get along in his simple environment.

As infancy gives way to childhood, learning proceeds more slowly. The child of keen mind continues to observe and imitate, to be sure, and in this way he increases his vocabulary. But the duller child is satisfied with the ability to express very primitive feelings and desires. He is less quick to note and adopt for his own use new words and terms, and his vocabulary shows little change.

The difference between the alert and the slower-minded individual is even more marked during the years of youth and adolescence. The ambitious, spirited boy or girl will wander farther afield mentally. His mental experiences are no longer simple. He finds that he needs new terms to describe what he sees and thinks. He is not content to exist as a perambulating vegetable, living and thinking on a low level. Wanting to express fine shades of meaning, he must find words of precision and clarity. So he continues the process of vocabulary building which was first noted in infancy. His sluggish neighbor, however, is sloppy in speech, and his words are blunt instruments, mangling ideas instead of outlining them in clear relief.

Many young people fall into habits of slothful speech, not because their minds are slow, but because they are lazy. Such persons may, by act of will, resume the vocabulary-building activities which have been neglected. All they need is imagination enough to see the desirability of clean-cut, interesting, well-dressed speech. It is with words that one translates to others the content of his mind and the quality of his spirit. One must take care, then, lest the finest elements of his personality may be lost in the translation.

It is not easy to build an adequate vocabulary. "Spare and sinewy utterance," says the London Times, "is not to be had merely for the asking, or even for the thinking. It must be won by painful practice and by a watchful severity with one's own outpourings."

If you are intent upon vocabulary building, do as infants do; listen, observe, use the words which you hear. Then do as babies cannot yet do. Read widely, and with a dictionary at hand. When an unfamiliar word appears, consult your dictionary. Then use the new acquisition in your conversation. Do not set out to find long words or unusual terms. Be on guard against any disposition to show off by using words which are probably strange to your associates. Let the true usefulness of a word commend it to you.



PERRY CONVERTS THE JAPANESE TO WESTERN WAYS

In 1853, Admiral Matthew C. Perry arrived with a naval squadron off the shores of Japan, and forced that nation to open its doors to the West. To convince the Japanese of the superiority of western ways, Perry brought with him industrial products, such as a steam engine, a stove, an axe, and a scythe. This old print shows the Japanese receiving these gifts.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The United States and Japan

AMERICA'S relations with Japan are of more recent origin than our relations with any other major power. It was less than a hundred years ago that contact between this country and Japan was established, ending the long period of Japanese isolation from the rest of the world. During that period, there have been intervals of friction interspersed with periods of amity and economic collaboration which were mutually advantageous. The present crisis in Japanese-American relations is, however, probably the most serious that has yet occurred.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

Toward the middle of the last century, the United States undertook to expand its commerce to the Orient. The American merchant marine was powerful and the Far East held out prospects of a lucrative trade for our merchants and shipping interests. In 1844, China was opened to our ships and trade by a treaty negotiated with the Chinese by Caleb Cushing. But Japan persisted in her policy of aloofness. Her only commercial intercourse with the outside world was with Dutch and Chinese merchants—trade which was rigidly regulated by the Japanese.

Opening of Japan

The opening of Japan to the outside world is a well-known story. Commodore Matthew C. Perry, with an armed squadron, was ordered to Japan to negotiate a treaty. He anchored in Japanese waters and landed, in July 1853, despite the Japanese prohibition. His display of force deeply impressed the Japanese and when he returned the following spring, they signed the epoch-making treaty which opened Japan to American trade and was the initial step in the industrialization and modernization of Japan.

From the establishment of contact with the Far East to the present, American policy in that region has been based on the famous Open-Door Policy, just as our relations in the Western Hemisphere have been based on the Monroe Doctrine. This policy was clearly enunciated following the Spanish-American War when the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, just off the Asiatic mainland. At that time, we were afraid that our trade with China would be destroyed by the numerous concessions which were being extracted from a weak Chinese government.

Set forth by President McKinley's secretary of state, John Hay, the Open-Door Policy provided for two things: (1) to protect China against further encroach-

ments by foreign powers; and (2) to guarantee to all nations equal rights in the trade and economic development of China. Had the process of partitioning and exploitation continued, it is likely that China would have been completely destroyed as an independent nation. "The various powers," the Dowager Empress of China had declared, "cast upon us looks of tigerlike voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories."

When the Open-Door Policy was adopted by the United States, Japan was already on the way to establishing herself as the dominant power in Asia. She had annexed the island of Formosa at the end of the war with China in 1894-95, and would have taken more had she not been deterred by Germany, Russia, and France. In 1910, she incorporated the Kingdom of Korea into her growing empire, thus establishing herself on the Chinese coast.

Domination of Asia

Whatever temporary setbacks Japan may have received, she has never abandoned her policy of dominating eastern Asia. When the rest of the world was engaged in the World War, she made her famous Twenty-One Demands upon China and forced the Chinese to accept them. These demands called for substantial concessions and privileges to Japan. Only by strong action on the part of the other powers was Japan forced to back down.

Despite the fact that the principles of the Open-Door Policy were incorporated into treaty in 1922, signed by Japan, the policy has been ignored and the treaty violated by the Japanese on many occasions since. Since 1931, when the Chinese province of Manchuria was invaded and set up as a puppet Japanese state, Japan's control of Asia has become constantly more extensive. The latest step in the process is the alliance with Germany and Italy by which she obtains their support for her "new order" in Asia.

Since the invasion of Manchuria nine years ago, the United States has attempted to halt Japan by measures "short of war." At first, strong diplomatic pressure was brought to bear upon Japan, and the Stimson Doctrine was proclaimed. By this policy, the United States declared that it would not recognize as legal territorial changes effected by force and in violation of treaties. The United States kept its fleet in the Pacific as a warning to Japan. Then it ended its commercial treaty with Japan and has been bringing economic pressure to bear upon the Japanese in the form of embargoes. However, the Japanese have not retraced their steps and now American-Japanese relations have reached the most critical stage in their entire history.

Our Neighbors -

PRINCIPAL WISEMAN is advising Arthur about preparation for a career. "You should have two things in mind," he says. "You should prepare for a job at which you can make a good living, and through which you can, at the same time, serve your country. In the past I am afraid that students have not thought enough about this double objective. They have been concerned chiefly about their own welfare and have not given enough attention to the needs of their country."

The principal goes on to say, however, that the fault is not with the students alone. Much of the blame, probably most of it, he admits, rests upon the schools. They have not helped students as much as they should have done with occupational choices. He quotes from a recent report of the American Youth Commission which declares that "less than one in four of our youth in general have received any of that preparation for jobs that we call vocational guidance." "We are trying now to give you better service," continues the principal. "We are trying to find out where the best opportunities are, and what the nation's needs are. We are helping many of our students to become skilled mechanics. We are meeting other personal and national needs. We shall have specific advice for you later. And we urge you, in the meantime, to do all your work with skill and efficiency as a service both to yourself and to your country. You must prepare yourself to the best of your ability for your future job."



* * * * *

WHAT is all this trouble about? What on earth has happened to Mr. Grump? You'd think the waitress had half killed him, the way he is screaming at her. As a matter of fact, probably there's nothing much the matter. Possibly the steak is a little



overdone or underdone, or maybe Grump just isn't in a mood for steak. Anyway he's in a bad mood and is giving the waitress a piece of his mind. She seems to be frightened. One would think she'd get used to it, for this is the way Grump nearly always acts in the restaurant. He is obliged to be civil at the store, for if he insulted his customers he would lose trade. So he is courteous in his business relations, but when he finds someone whom he can insult without any risk to himself he lets himself go. He knows that the waitress can't talk back. The proprietor adopts the rule, "The customer is always right." So Grump can go as far as he likes with his abusive language, and he takes advantage of that fact. "Be courteous to those who are in a position to hit back, and rude to those who can't." That seems to be his motto. Not a particularly heroic character, you may say. You may even go so far as to consider him a cowardly boor. And perhaps you are right.

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HARRY SELLING would wipe the smirk off his face if he could hear what the purchasing agent said as soon as he stepped out of the office. "I'd like to give him an order," said the agent. "He really carries a fairly good line. But I won't give him a dollar's worth of business. He offends me every time he comes into my office by talking about his competitors. He is always peddling stories about competing firms and is always running down their products. Why doesn't he confine himself to the merits of his own line, and let me find out the faults of competing goods? I've been dealing with salesmen a long time," the old man continued, "and the best of them stick to the rule of leaving competitors out of their sales talks. There's a good reason for this. One who talks about his competitor can't be objective. He's likely not to paint a true picture. So it seems the better policy not to belittle the other fellow. It is the fair thing to do, and is so accepted by first-rate salesmen. It's a good rule for people to follow whether they are selling things, or competing in some other way. I always tell my boy who is in school never to speak against rivals in athletics or debate or love or any other activity. It's all right to talk up your own line, but don't talk down the fellow with whom you compete. The best and most successful type of salesmanship is that which adheres rigidly to the procedure just outlined."



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THE current history club does quite a little of its work through committees. When the members wish information on some subject, they appoint two or three members as a committee whose duty it is to find out the facts. In this way there is a division of labor



among the members. Hubert and Gertrude have been given the job of finding out all that they can about Wendell Willkie. "We must study the issues of the campaign, of course," said the president of the club, "but that isn't enough. We want to see what sort of men the candidates are. We know quite a lot about President Roosevelt, because he has been so long before the public eye. But Mr. Willkie is a newcomer to politics and we don't know so much about him."

So Hubert and Gertrude are at work at the job. They have found quite a little material. On September 2 *The New Republic* ran a supplement on Willkie, telling a great deal about the way he has handled his business responsibilities. The conclusions are not very favorable to him. A more sympathetic picture is given in an article, "The Education of Wendell Willkie," in the October *Harpers*. Interesting and apparently unbiased comments on both candidates, but chiefly Willkie, are found in John Chamberlain's "Candidates and Speeches," in the Autumn 1940 number of *The Yale Review*. Hubert and Gertrude continue their search through the current magazines for additional information.

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LITTLE MARY, aflame with the spirit of the hour, turns to patriotic verse. She is reciting two stanzas from Arthur Nicholas Hosking's stirring poetic work—"Land of the Free":

America, O Power benign, great hearts revere your name,
You stretch your hand to every land, to weak and strong the same;
You claim no conquest of the sea, nor conquest of the field,
But conquest for the rights of man, that despots all shall yield.

America, in God we trust, we fear no tyrant's horde:
There's light that leads toward better deeds than conquest by the sword;
Ye! our cause is just, if fight we must until the world be free
Of every menace, breed or caste that strikes at Liberty.





STUDENT NURSE

GALLOWAY

• Vocational Outlook •

Nursing

AMONG the many vocations open to women, probably none is so exacting as the nursing profession. It calls for fairly long and often irregular hours. It involves performing tasks that are not always pleasant. Patients in the care of nurses are apt to be irritable and demanding, sometimes quite unreasonable; and it is as much a part of the nurse's duty to indulge their whims as it is to administer drugs prescribed by the physician. Thus the nurse must be patient, uncomplaining, tolerant, and cheerful. And at the same time she cannot be oversqueamish or unduly sensitive to the sight of blood, disease, or even death, for these, too, are a part of nursing.

Though there are various branches of nursing, the basic training for all of them is the same. Preparation can actually start in high school with the study of elementary biology, chemistry, physics, and related subjects; but the real work begins in nursing school. The student receives a three-year course, combining lectures with practical training, and is then given a diploma.

There are approximately 1,350 nursing schools that meet the minimum requirements set by the states in which they are located. Most of these schools are operated by hospitals and charge their students no tuition. In recent years, however, an increasing number of schools, anxious to restrict enrollment and solve the problem of overcrowding in the profession, have begun to charge their students tuition fees. The young woman who wishes to advance in the profession is strongly urged to attend a nursing school that is maintained by a university. University training schools, in addition to providing the basic three-year professional course which leads to the nursing diploma, offer also a combination academic and professional course leading to a combined bachelor's degree and nursing diploma. This combination course requires four or five years; but it enables the nurse to compete for the better nursing jobs, particularly in the field of public health.

All nurses, whether they are graduates of hospital or university schools, must pass state examinations upon the completion of their training. As soon as that examination is passed, the nurse can begin to look around for employment as a private nurse, an institutional nurse, or in the public health service.

The private duty nurse usually has her name placed on the call list of a hospital or a clinic and is assigned to private cases, either in the home or the hospital. Wages in private duty nursing vary. In some communities, the nurse gets \$7 for an eight-hour day. But this is not the rule. Many of them work for \$4 a day and even longer hours. When the work on an assigned case is over, the nurse must wait her turn for the next call. That may come within a few days or not for a few weeks. The private duty field of nursing is so crowded,

except in isolated communities, that few nurses can count on steady employment. In 1929, the average annual income of private duty nurses was \$1,200; in 1932, it dropped to \$735. It is somewhat higher now but still far from satisfactory.

Institutional nursing, in a hospital, is, of course, preferable because the job is steady and pays a fixed salary and this is commonly as high as \$1,500 and sometimes higher. In 1936, half the nation's institutional nurses made less than \$1,000 a year, but the other half made more.

Public health nursing is undoubtedly the branch of nursing that offers the greatest opportunities. With the growing interest in public health programs, financed by federal, state, and local bodies, there is bound to be a sizable demand for nurses with college training and with a background capable of dealing with the many problems related to public health. The average annual earnings of public health nurses are said to be \$1,500.

For complete information on nursing schools, write to the National League of Nursing Education, 50 West 50th Street, New York City.

Young People Lack Preparation for Jobs, Youth Commission Declares

NO problem looms larger in the mind of a young person about to leave school than finding a job. Every year there are about 1,750,000 young people who leave school or college to hunt jobs and the difficulties which confront them are enormous. Unemployment among young people is higher than among other age groups. Some 4,000,000 young men and women between the ages of 15 and 24 are today out of work. The federal government, through such agencies as the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, is helping some young people, but unemployment still remains one of youth's most pressing problems.

For a number of years, the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education has been studying the problems of youth, especially those problems which relate to employment. In the near future it will publish a significant study on preparing young people for jobs. It believes that one of the most difficult aspects of the problem is directing and preparing young people for jobs which suit their abilities. While the problem of unemployment among youth, as among other age groups of the population, is largely one of arithmetic (there are more workers than jobs), it is also a fact that a large proportion of young people who leave school are woefully unprepared to fill jobs. "Present evidence seems to show that less than one in four of our youth in general have received any of that preparation for jobs that we call vocational guidance," the commission declares.

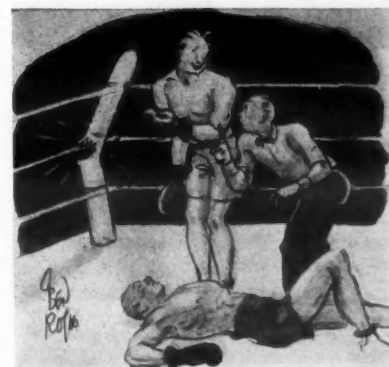
At the present time, there are some 18,000 different types of jobs. The American Youth Commission believes that the high schools have a responsibility to prepare young people for these jobs. It believes that the high school course of study will have to be revised in such a way as to make it meet this need for vocational guidance. It believes that the idea that the principal function of the high school is to prepare youths for college and professional or executive business work must be abandoned. "Only one in five of those going to high school today is planning to go to college. Why run high schools for that one, and neglect the other four?"

The commission strongly urges the schools to revise their curriculum to meet the need by placing greater emphasis upon vocational training. It suggests that each school be provided with a full-time counsellor, or more than one if necessary. These counsellors would consult with each pupil regularly and direct him into courses that will prepare him for the type of work for which he is fitted. The counsellors should also consult with employers to determine their requirements. Moreover, the school should not consider its work done when the students are graduated, but should attempt to locate jobs for the graduates. One of the functions of the school should be to "find the right person for the right job."

The report of the commission does not call for the setting up of courses in 18,000 different kinds of jobs. What it does recommend is the grouping of jobs into several large families where the requirements and preparation are closely related. For example, "practice in handling machine tools in a school shop gives a boy a head start in learning a job in any kind of manufacturing."

While stressing vocational training and vocational guidance, the schools would not abandon the regular academic subjects. The commission believes that each pupil should take subjects which have a direct bearing upon his future employment and, at the same time a rounded group of general subjects, such as history, mathematics, English, current affairs, science, and others. "Teachers and employers have found that a boy with broad knowledge and training, in addition to job education, catches on to new ideas and unexpected conditions quicker than one who hasn't that training."

♦ SMILES ♦



"THIS IS MY INDIRECT KNOCKOUT PUNCH. I HIT THIS POLE AND THEY USUALLY FAINT!"
—AMERICAN BOY

"How do you spend your income?"
"About 30 per cent for shelter; 30 per cent for clothing; 40 per cent for food; and 20 per cent for amusement."
"But that adds up to 120 per cent."
"That's right. So what?"

—ATLANTA TWO BELLS

The President urges students to continue their education until they are needed. Setting a good example, he himself will go back to Electoral College. —THE NEW YORKER

"That's an accomplished girl Ben is going to marry," observed a friend. "She can swim, ride, dance, drive a car, and pilot a plane—a real all-around girl."

"They should get along fine," replied another. "You know Ben is a good cook."
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

Scoutmaster: "Supposing there was an explosion, and a man was blown into the air. While the nearest doctor was being called, what would you do?"
Tenderfoot: "First, I'd wait for the man to come down again."
—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

"I told her that each hour I spent with her was like a pearl to me."
"And did that impress her?"
"No, she told me to quit stringing her."
—SELECTED

"And they tell me you have a model husband."
"Yes, but he isn't a working model—he's just the blueprint."
—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

Information Test

Answers to history and geography questions may be found on page 8. If you miss too many of them, a review of history and geography is advisable. Current history questions refer to this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

American History

1. To what political parties did these presidents belong? (a) Jackson, (b) Lincoln, (c) Wilson, (d) T. Roosevelt.
2. One of our presidents was impeached, and acquitted, for allegedly removing his secretary of war from office without the Senate's consent. Who was he?
3. Against what enemy did General Custer make his "last stand"?
4. True or false: The American Federation of Labor was the first national labor organization in the United States.
5. After the World War, which president signed the congressional resolution which officially ended the war with Germany and Austria?

Geography

1. Sailors on the Pacific Ocean must advance or set back the date one day when they cross the _____ line.
2. The highest mountain on earth rises five and one-half miles above sea level. What and where is it?
3. Longest of the world's river systems is the Missouri-Mississippi system. What river is, by itself, the longest?
4. Can you name the three great mountain systems in the United States?

Current History

5. Which state produces the most (a) crude petroleum, (b) coal, (c) iron ore?
1. What are Japan's objectives in invading French Indo-China? Name three possibilities.
2. What is the strategic importance of French Indo-China to the Japanese?
3. What is the main purpose of the treaty of alliance signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan? Why may the treaty be said to be directed against the United States?
4. What would be the position of the United States in the Atlantic in the event she should become involved in war with Japan in the Pacific?
5. What is the principal advantage in the campaign enjoyed by President Roosevelt, or by any president in office seeking reelection?
6. When, and by whom, was the Open-Door Policy enunciated?
7. What is the strategic importance of Singapore?
8. List the principal diplomatic victories of Joachim von Ribbentrop.
9. Who has been named by President Roosevelt to direct the conscription program?
10. What tactics are the Axis powers using in seeking the support of the Arab world? Why are many Arabs unfriendly toward the British?

The Week at Home

Second Half

With the presidential campaign now in its second half, both parties are preparing for a fighting windup. Mr. Willkie completed his "grand tour" of the Middle West and Far West, where he traveled some 7,000 miles through 18 states. Before election day, he plans to deliver some 20 additional major addresses in the East and Middle West.

Careful political analysts feel that the outcome of the election is still in doubt. They feel that the Willkie campaign has recovered somewhat from the collapse it suffered in its early stages and that future Gallup Polls will show that Mr. Willkie has recovered some of the September losses. The outcome is still held to hinge largely on the international situation and the turn it takes between now and November 5.

So far, President Roosevelt has confined himself to waging a "passive" campaign by going about his business as president and delivering a few addresses which are "political" or "nonpolitical" according to the views of the listener. His office gives him a certain advantage, for his every act and utterance as president receives widespread attention and affects his chances as candidate for reelection.

During the remaining weeks of the campaign, Mr. Willkie will seek to win votes in the large cities among industrial workers, where the Roosevelt forces are strong, and the Roosevelt campaigners will endeavor



INTL. NEWS
FINEST INFANTRY RIFLE

In the Garand rifle, the United States is believed to have the best infantry rifle in the world. Garands are being manufactured in increasing quantities for the Army. An Army officer is shown inspecting the weapon above, while J. C. Garand, the inventor, looks on.

to overcome the opposition of certain rural areas where Mr. Willkie seems to have made strong gains.

Congress Waits

Up for reelection November 5, nearly all the members of the House of Representatives and one-third of the senators are naturally concerned with the business of putting their views before the people. As we go to press, it seems Congress will soon either recess for several weeks, not meeting again until after the elections, or else take several three-day recesses between now and November 5.

Since most of the major legislation has been disposed of, there has been some talk of adjourning Congress altogether. In this case, there would be no regular session until next January, when the new Congress meets. But the seriousness of the interna-



CAMPAIGN SNAPSHOTS

To photograph well is highly advantageous to a candidate during a national campaign. Both President Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie are fortunate in this respect. The camera reveals the dynamic qualities of each.

tional situation has prevailed upon congressional leaders to recess, instead of adjourn, so the members can be reassembled at any time a crisis may demand it.

Safer Locations

The exposed situation of our vital industries has long been a source of concern to military men. The greatest of our manufacturing regions lies in the Northeast as close to the coast as it can get, and in recent years a group of airplane plants has sprung up in southern California around Los Angeles. In expanding our war industries, the government has this location problem in mind.

Last spring the President expressed a wish that new plane plants might be located in the safer region between the Rockies and the Appalachians. The other day he announced that in the trebling of the aircraft industry since December 1938, the greatest percentage gain had been in 29 interior states and that he expected the greatest advances of the future to be made in that same area.

The National Defense Advisory Commission is being very definite in the matter of locating new arms factories. A businessman who recently went to Washington to find out whether the authorities would permit the use of New Hampshire plants for defense industries reported that the Commission wants to equip no new plants anywhere within 300 miles of our borders. The only exception made is in the case of Ohio.

Defense Housing

One aspect of national defense preparations which is very necessary, but which is little publicized, is housing—housing for all the new men who are to be added to the armed forces, and housing for the men who are employed by defense industries, and their families.

As for the first type, Congress appro-

priated 338 million dollars for housing the Army and its new "trainees." Construction has already begun on 34 camps for this purpose, tent camps in the warm weather climates, and barracks in the colder regions.

Some industries are finding it difficult to increase production of war materials, not because there are not enough skilled men, but because there are not enough housing facilities nearby to accommodate these men and their families. This is especially true of the shipbuilding areas.

The problem of building houses is very complicated. Certain government agencies which have been promoting public housing projects would like to furnish permanent housing units where they are needed. Yet many persons think this would be wasteful, and that temporary, prefabricated houses should be put up so they could be moved whenever the defense program slowed down and defense industries ceased to need so many men.

U. S. Airports

To be worthy of the name, an airport must be a place where airplanes can be repaired and refueled, as well as landed. Hence it is misleading, according to President G. R. Wilson of the National Aeronautic Association, to say there are 2,500 "airports" in the United States. He points out that "many hay fields in which a plane has never landed are better than many of the listed airports."

Air traffic—both military and civil—has grown amazingly during the past year. Air lines have been getting a great deal more business than they anticipated; the Civil Aeronautics Authority has used a large number of planes and fields in its pilot training program; and the military air forces will need more and more fields for their training work.

To cope with this expansion of air traffic, the CAA has planned a program to form a network of 4,000 real airports in the

United States and its possessions within six years. The total cost of the project is estimated at 560 million dollars, not counting the cost of land and buildings. The President has requested that Congress appropriate 80 million dollars to start work.

Colonel Hershey

Although the draft machinery is to be staffed by civilians, it has a regular Army officer at its head. The acting director named by President Roosevelt is Lieutenant Colonel Lewis Blaine Hershey, an artilleryman who has specialized in conscription plans since 1926.

Lewis Hershey was born on a farm near Angola, Indiana, 47 years ago. He attended a one-room school, went on to high school, and then, at Tri-State College, Angola,

took the three-month course which made it possible for him to become a teacher. He was teaching before he was 17.

He enlisted in the National Guard. In those days it still followed the old militia custom of electing its officers, and before long the young school-master was chosen

lieutenant. In 1916 he went to the Mexican border with his regiment. Two years later he was sent to France, but the Armistice was signed shortly after he arrived. He remained overseas for a while to attend a French artillery school and help with the work of returning the expeditionary force to the United States. In 1920 he passed examinations for the regular Army and took a course at the Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. He proved himself an excellent battery commander, and later he was ordered to the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Army War College at Washington. When he was detailed for duty with the Selective Service Committee, he soon showed that he had the facts about conscription at his fingertips.

Exports Booming

In the first year of the European conflict, our exports amounted to \$4,000,000,000 as compared with less than \$3,000,000,000 for the corresponding period in 1938-1939. Our export trade has not reached such a figure since 1929-1930.

Most of the increase is due to heavy purchasing in four classes of goods: iron and steel manufactures, aircraft, cotton, and industrial machinery—the items ranking in that order. British purchases make up the bulk of the increase, but our sales to South America show a sharp rise, too.

Foreign buying seems destined to reach new heights if the war continues. The huge quantities of metals, machinery, and vehicles shipped in August made that month even better than July. Foreign trade experts believe that another year of fighting will raise our exports to an annual rate of approximately \$5,400,000,000.



DEFENSE BOOMS CONSTRUCTION

The government is rushing work on various buildings in the national capital, to meet the demands for increased office space. The above structure will house part of the War Department.

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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The Week Abroad

Madagascar Blockade

Nearly 250 miles off the coast of southeastern Africa the huge island of Madagascar looms out of the Indian Ocean. Almost a thousand miles long, and a quarter as wide, it rivals Texas in size and ranks fifth among the world's largest islands. Marco Polo came upon it in the late thirteenth century. Portugal claimed it in 1805, but since 1896 it has been ruled by France as a colony.

Approached from the sea, Madagascar presents a solid belt of tropical forests 15 to 20 miles deep, behind which a lofty tableland seems suspended in the sultry air. With its many short but swift rivers, cascades and deep gorges, its dense forests, tropical flowers, and rare species of birds, Madagascar is attractive to the eye. But it is not a healthful place in which to live. The forests and swamps, drenched by constant rains, breed malaria, and the heat is so great that even the highest peaks (reaching 9,000 feet) show no traces of snow. Yet there are close to four million Madagascan natives and 25,000 French who share the island with big land tortoises and crocodiles. To France, Madagascar is of value chiefly as a source of rice, beans, coffee, sugar, and tobacco, and a potential source of gold, lead, and copper.

Last week the British navy began to blockade the Madagascar coasts after the French administration of the island refused to denounce the French government at Vichy and join the "Free French" forces of General de Gaulle in supporting Britain against Germany. This move is but one phase of a broad campaign to win over the French Empire to the British side. Initial successes in French Equatorial Africa, and in New Caledonia (in the Pacific) were given a severe setback, two weeks ago, when a British and "Free French" naval attack on Dakar, French West Africa, was repelled by forces loyal to the Vichy regime. Britain apparently hopes now to revive the flagging spirits of the "Free French" forces by adding Madagascar to the short list of colonies now in revolt against Vichy.

French Canada

The frequent use of the phrase "our English-speaking neighbor to the north" is apt to make us forget that Quebec, one of the two leading Canadian provinces, is essentially French in language, atmosphere, and tradition. Crossing into Canada by way of Quebec, the visitor feels that he has actually been thrust into the French countryside. The signs he encounters on stores and on the highways are in the French language, as is the conversation of the peasants gathered in the market. Here and there, along the countryside, is the surely unexpected sight of the French tricolor, unfurled by a farmer not because his political loyalty is to France but as evi-

dence of his desire to retain the individuality that sets Quebec apart from the remainder of Canada.

Nor is the French character of Quebec merely superficial. It is not a matter merely of highway signs or language or chicory in the coffee. It penetrates and colors every phase of life in the province. Here the French Canadians have schools whose curricula more nearly resemble those of French public schools than those of British Canada. Here the peasants, like those of France, are a simple, unpretentious folk, whose shabby clothes bespeak merely their thrifty habits, not poverty. Here, as in the rural areas of France, the people are devoutly religious.

The French Canadians are not a small minority in the Dominion. They number about a third of the population. As in other nations where racial groups continued to maintain separate identities, Canada has been faced with a good deal of friction



between the British and French Canadians; and not even the war has served to remove the misunderstandings completely.

The Arab World

By securing the aid of the Arab peoples in the Near East, Great Britain was able, during the World War, to break the Turkish Empire, then allied with Germany. Promising Arab chieftains an independent federation of Arab states, the British incited numerous revolts that eventually forced the Turks to retire to the Anatolian peninsula.

Germany and Italy are now using the same tactics in the Near East against Great Britain, the dominant power in that region. Day and night propaganda talks are broadcast over the Italian radio channels by an Islamic Lord Haw-Haw, urging the Arabs to revolt. Copies of Hitler's "My Battle," printed in the Arabic tongue, have been distributed in Arab intellectual

circles, free of charge. And Arab readers find a specially written preface to the volume curiously explaining the similarity between the Moslem faith and Nazi doctrine. More directly, the Axis powers have set aside generous funds with which to win over native Arab chieftains to their cause.

What results the Italians and Germans are obtaining in their propaganda campaign is so far uncertain. There is no denying that the Arabs are still resentful of British failure to carry out pledges made during the World War. But whether that resentment is sufficiently acute and widespread to turn the Arabs toward the Axis is open to question. It is the more doubtful because, despite Mussolini's self-proclaimed mission as "protector of Islam," Fascist policy in North African colony of Libya has been anything but reassuring to the Arabs. The Arabs recall that in Libya, as well as in Ethiopia, the Fascist government has adopted drastic regulations to assure the "racial superiority" of the Italian colonists and that the natives have legally been reduced to the status of second-class citizens.

Riom Trials

About 30 miles southwest of Vichy, the temporary capital of unoccupied France, lies the sleepy old town of Riom, once the capital of the Duchy of Auvergne. Until recently Riom was known to only a few historically minded people who admired its curious clock tower, its old House of Consuls (erected in 1527), and the rich tapestries and stained-glass windows of its Palais de Justice.

During the past few months Riom has been the scene of one of the most sensational trials in modern history. Some of the most famous men of France are imprisoned there on the charge of having led France into a war she could not win. Among them are General Maurice Gamelin, who commanded the armies of France up until the last month of the war; three former premiers, Leon Blum, Eduard Daladier, Paul Reynaud, and many others. In prosecuting these former leaders, the Vichy government is believed to have two purposes in mind—to find scapegoats upon which to pin the blame for France's present predicament, and to placate Nazi Germany.

Very recently, however, observers have noted a cooling of French interest in these trials and a tendency to relax the vigor with which they were at first pressed. The more reasonable quarters in France now seem to feel that nothing is to be gained by blaming a few for a disaster for which many are responsible, and that a wholesale denunciation of the former leaders of France is not consistent with French dignity and unity. It is not likely that the trials will be dropped, but it is thought possible that they may be drastically modified.

Pacific Gibraltar

The widely discussed possibility that the United States may be granted the use of British bases in the Far East, to parallel the exchange of destroyers for Atlantic bases, has centered interest upon Singapore, Britain's mightiest Far Eastern outpost. Only 500 miles south of Indo-China, where the Japanese moved in the other day to extend their new order of things, Singapore is the key to British possessions in the Far East. British naval units based on Singapore guard the lines of communication between the home country and India, as well as the dominions of Australia and New Zealand.

The defense of these territories would be gravely compromised if Singapore were wrested from British control. But the British have taken careful precautions against any such attempt. The base, on a small island off the tip of the Malay Peninsula, has been strongly fortified with guns of an effective 25-mile range, with graving



GENERAL DE GAULLE
The leader of the "Free Frenchmen," who have their headquarters in England, inspects recruits to his cause.

and floating docks, repair shops, and ammunition dumps.

Actual work on Singapore began 17 years ago when thousands of Chinese, Indian, and Malay natives were hired by the British to reclaim an island that was then little more than a swamp. But serious strengthening of the base, to make it as impregnable as possible, did not begin until four years ago. The original plan called for completion of the project in 1944, but as the international situation deteriorated rapidly in 1938 and 1939, the British got busy and managed to complete the work five years ahead of schedule.

Nazi Diplomat

The Triple Alliance, in which Germany, Italy, and Japan have recently joined, is but one of many diplomatic triumphs negotiated by Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's minister of foreign affairs. It was von Ribbentrop who helped to bring Italy to Germany's side; who negotiated the nonaggression pact with Russia, in August 1939, and again it is von Ribbentrop who is now seeking to bring Spain into the Axis fold.



JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP ACME

that he was born in the Rhineland in 1893, the son of a wealthy Prussian army officer. He was schooled in both France and England, and lived for a time in Canada. In 1918 he was appointed to a post in the German embassy at Istanbul, but he abandoned diplomacy after the German collapse, and traveled all over Europe as a wine salesman for a merchant whose daughter he subsequently married.

Von Ribbentrop was not one of the earliest supporters of Hitler, but he was one of the best educated and most experienced in foreign affairs. Accordingly, when Hitler announced himself leader of a new Germany, in 1933, von Ribbentrop was promptly rewarded with the post of roving ambassador. From 1936 to 1938 he served as ambassador to London, winning to Hitler's side a considerable number of influential Britishers. When he returned to Berlin it was to receive the post he now holds—foreign minister of Germany.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Annam (a-nam')
Batavia (bah-tah'vi-ah), Cambodia (kahm-
boe'di-ah), Chiang Kai-shek (jee'ong'ki
shek'-i as in ice), Chungking (choong'king')
Cochin (ko'chin), Hainan (hi'nahn'-i as in
ice), Haiphong (hi'fong'-i as in ice), Hanoi
(hah'noy'), Korea (koe-ree'ah), Kwangchow
(gwahng'joe'wahn'), Kweichow (gway'
joe'), Issaku Nishihara (ee-sah'koo nee-shee-
hah'rah), Pai Chung-hsi (pi' choong' shee')
Joachim von Ribbentrop (yoe-ah'keem fon
rib'ben-troap), Szechwan (soo'chwahn'), Thai-
land (ti'land-i as in ice), Yangtze (yang'
tsee'), Yunnan (yoon'nahn').



NIGHT AFTER NIGHT

As German raids continued, Londoners were forced to spend one night after another in air-raid shelters, getting what little sleep they could under conditions of utmost discomfort.

U. S. Policy and the Triple Alliance

(Concluded from page 1)

in many ways. We are selling them several hundred airplanes each month. We have traded them much-needed destroyers for the right to use their bases on this side of the Atlantic. There are dozens of English officials in Washington and New York arranging for the purchase of supplies which the English greatly need to carry on the war. The Germans say that if we help the English enough so that we are threatening to influence the outcome of the struggle, they may regard our assistance as an act of war. Suppose that they should do this and that we should find ourselves at war with Germany and Italy; what could Japan do about it?

Weakness of Japan

There is one thing that she could not do about it. She could not send her navy or her planes to this country to make an attack upon United States territory. The American Navy is in the way and it is a stronger navy than the Japanese possess. It operates from the great naval and air base in Hawaii—probably the most powerful fortification in the world. Japan is 7,000 miles from our Pacific coast. She cannot cross to this side of the water.

It would be necessary, of course, if we were at war with Japan, that we keep our Navy, or most of it, in the Pacific. We could not transfer it to the Atlantic to help the English in the war against Germany. Perhaps that is the thing the Germans have in mind. It would be to their interest to keep American naval power in the Pacific. It would be a real gain to Germany to have Japan declare war on the United States.

The Japanese could probably take the Philippine Islands in case they went to war with the United States. The Philippines are not well fortified. They are a long way from Hawaii and not so very far from Japan. The Japanese might also shut off our trade from the east; that is, from British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, from which region we get nearly all our rubber. That might be a serious, though probably not a fatal, inconvenience. We have a supply of rubber which would last us only from three to six months, but the great American rubber factories are able to manufacture artificial rubber. It would probably not be long until they could make enough to meet our military needs.

It is not certain, however, that the Japanese navy could shut off our supplies of rubber and tin and quinine from southeastern Asia. It is possible that our Navy, based at



THE GREAT IMITATOR
MANNING IN PHOENIX (ARIZ.) REPUBLIC

fairly quickly because she cannot live unless she can get supplies either from the Western Hemisphere or from southern Asia.

Naval opinion on this point is divided, some of the experts thinking that we should not risk sending our Navy to Singapore. If we did not send it beyond Hawaii, we could probably not shut off Japanese commerce from southern Asia, but we could shut off her trade from the Western Hemisphere. And it must be remembered that the United States has been the chief supplier of the raw materials for Japan's industry, just as we have been the principal market for the chief product of Japan; that is, raw silk.

In the Atlantic

Most economic and naval authorities think that in spite of the fact that Japan at the outset could probably take the Philippines, the United States could throttle the Japanese and crush them to the point of submission, but that it would take a long war to do it; a war of possibly three or four years; a war that would be very costly to the United States.

What, meanwhile, would happen in the Atlantic? That would depend very largely upon the British navy. If things stand as at present, Germany and Italy could not venture into the Atlantic to attack us, even though we were occupied in a war in the Pacific. Those countries cannot at present break through British naval power. At the present time, Germany and Italy are



A POOR FOREIGN POLICY
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

such a great fleet, and they are not in a position to furnish it with supplies. If the United States should be in the war, the British navy could, and probably would, operate from our ports and bases. If this should happen, the British fleet, augmented by the ships that we could bring into the Atlantic from the Pacific, would probably be strong enough to prevent the Germans and Italians from crossing the Atlantic. And even if the British navy were destroyed, the United States might have an air fleet large enough to beat off any possible attack upon our shores. Whether or not we could do so would depend, in large part, upon the time element. If the British hold the Germans at bay for another year, our air forces should be large enough to prevent either a naval or an air attack upon our coast line.

Before we go further with this discussion, it should be emphasized that we are not saying that the United States either should or should not, under any probable circumstances, go to war with Japan or with Germany and Italy. We are simply discussing military and naval possibilities in the light of the treaty of alliance which has been signed by the three powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan. That treaty said in effect: "The United States should not risk attacking any one of us, for if she does, she will have to fight all of us." We are, in this article, merely considering the meaning of that threat. We are considering what would happen if war should develop between the United States and these three nations, through either our act or theirs.

What Should We Do?

We now pass to the consideration of policy in the light of this treaty. What should the United States do? The United States government has already forbidden the shipment of scrap iron from this country to Japan. That is a serious blow because scrap iron is a necessary material out of which war supplies are made, and the Japanese have been getting about 95 per cent of their entire supply from this country. Of course, they no doubt have quite a store laid up, but even so, the denial of iron to them is a serious matter.

What, now, will Japan do? Will she feel that she has already lost the chief benefit which she had from keeping out of hostilities with the United States? Will she risk war with this country by moving on southward? Will she conquer Indo-China and start toward the Dutch East Indies and Singapore? If she acquires all these territories, she will shortly be in a position to dominate other territories in this region, including the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand.

Suppose she does start in that direction; what would the United States do? What should the United States do? Opinion on that point is divided. Many Americans think that we should do nothing, that we should content ourselves with looking after the Western Hemisphere. They say that is a big enough job, and that it is enough territory for any one nation to take under its wing. They argue that our trade with the Far East is not worth a war, that we



LOOKING FOR SOMEBODY?
JENSEN IN CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

had better let Japan go in that region, and that we should concentrate our fleet and our chief attention in the Atlantic. They say that it is in the Atlantic and not in the Pacific that danger lies.

Opposite View

Other Americans think that if we permit Japan to establish her rule over all central and southern Asia and the southern Pacific, we will be laying up for ourselves a store of trouble for the future. They say that Japan in the future will develop a power comparable to that of Germany today. They say that if we step out of the Far Eastern situation, it will be merely an attempt to "appease" Japan and that it will have as disastrous consequences as the English and French attempt to appease Germany at Munich. They say that the Japanese will become increasingly fanatical if they grow in power and that our only chance for peace in the future is to put a check on Japanese expansion.

It is not certain which of these views the American government will take, though past actions, coupled with statements which have come from the State Department, indicate that the government is more likely to take the second view than the first. If such a position should be adopted, further acts of aggression on Japan's part are likely to be followed by an attempt on the part of the United States to cripple Japanese trade, perhaps by so strong a measure as a blockade. From that point, anything might happen. There is no question that relations between the United States and Japan are dangerously strained, and while war is by no means inevitable, it is a distinct possibility.

Let us turn again from the Pacific to the Atlantic. One purpose of the Japanese-Italian-German pact was no doubt to put a check upon further American assistance to Great Britain. Present indications are that the pact is having the opposite effect. It was hoped that the American people might be frightened and might say: "We must stop helping England lest Germany and Japan make war upon us." Insofar as the treaty has affected American opinion, however, it seems to have stiffened the determination of Americans to help England. An idea frequently expressed is: "Since Japan, Germany, and Italy have shown their hostility to the United States, their victory in Europe and Asia would endanger us. We must, therefore, see to it that they do not win, and our best chance is to help England so that she, our only possible ally, may not be defeated."

This is not the view of all Americans. It may not be the view of the majority. It is hard to tell about that. It appears, however, to be the view of the Roosevelt administration, and there is every reason to think that Mr. Willkie, the Republican presidential candidate, is equally determined to help the English. Both President Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie speak of giving assistance "short of war," but whether it will be possible to give enough help to England to enable her to win the war without our actually getting in is a question.



KEEPING HIS POWDER DRY
HOMAN IN SHREVEPORT (LA.) JOURNAL

Hawaii, would be able to convoy ships in sufficient number to bring us needed supplies. The power of the American Navy in the Far East would be greatly enhanced if it should occupy and use the great British naval and air base at Singapore. Some of the American naval authorities think that, in case of war, our Navy should make a dash for Singapore. They say that with Singapore as a base, our Navy, aided by the relatively small number of English ships already there, could defeat the Japanese navy and blockade Japan. If this plan were successful, Japan might be crushed



TO SHOOT AT US?
SHOEMAKER IN CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

powerless to go effectively to the aid of Japan if she should be at war with the United States.

What will happen in Europe in a month or a year no one can tell. England may be invaded and destroyed. Even if this should happen, it seems probable that the British navy, or most of it, would not fall into German and Italian hands, but could cross the Atlantic and operate from this side. If we should not be in the war, the British navy would have difficulty operating from Canada because the Canadians do not have the ports and other facilities to service

Japanese Add to Far East Tensity

(Concluded from page 1)

The Chinese, upon whom the Annamites look with mingled resentment and admiration, are grouped in the southern provinces, and dominate the trade of the land to a degree far out of proportion to their numbers. The result is that the Annamites are quite poor and long-suffering. From time to time they have revolted half-heartedly until the leaders were jailed and the movement collapsed.

French policy in dealing with Annamites and Chinese has been to play one race against the other. It has been a good policy in the sense that it has enabled the French to retain a firm grip on the region, but a poor one in the sense that it has divided loyalties, set race against race, and weakened the region from within. This inward weakness is one of the reasons why the French have been unable to resist the Japanese move into the territory they have ruled for more than half a century. Other reasons are more complex.

Japanese Ambitions

That Japan has had ambitions in Indo-China has been apparent for some time. Early in 1938 she seized the large Chinese island of Hainan, the chief importance of which is its command of the coast of northern Indo-China. Within a year the Japanese had added to their possessions the Spratly Islands, off the southeast coast. As they closed in on the north and east, they began to demand that the French put a stop to the stream of supplies moving into China over the railroad from Indo-China. Bit by bit the French, occupied in Europe, yielded. When French resistance began to weaken in Europe, late last spring, the Japanese succeeded in placing their own army officers in Indo-China to supervise railway traffic and to look around at internal conditions in the meantime.

Following the collapse of France, the Japanese grew bolder. From time to time Washington and London heard reports of negotiations, and of Japanese threats over Indo-China. Finally an ultimatum was presented, and on September 22 the French negotiators agreed to permit Japan to establish three air bases in Tonkin (in northwestern Indo-China) and to garrison them with no more than 6,000 troops, which were to be brought by sea. Brigadier General Issaku Nishihara, who signed the pact on behalf of the Japanese army, gave his word that no more than 6,000 troops would be sent, and that the agreement would be observed to the letter. Japan's objective, it was stated, was to establish a small force near the Chinese border to protect the Japanese army in South China in the event that it should be forced to withdraw. General Nishihara solemnly promised that the troops would not attempt to attack China.

Hardly had the treaty been announced, however, when 30,000 Japanese troops promptly invaded Indo-China from the north, pushing the French before them in a series of short but brisk battles. Japanese troops entering the port of Haiphong by sea, in accordance with the agreement, were preceded by bombing planes which wrecked the Haiphong railway station. Japanese spokesmen said it was all a mistake, but the army continued to advance from the north and the fighting went on. The fact that the treaty was thus broken so flagrantly, almost before the ink was dry, has convinced most observers that Japan has no intention whatever of living up to her promises to the French. Her objectives, it is believed, are far wider than the guarding of three airdromes in northwestern Indo-China.

What does Japan seek in Indo-China? There are three possibilities. She may seek its raw materials. She may seek to use it as a base for operations against China. Or she may seek to use it as a stepping-stone to further ventures in southeast Asia and in the East Indies.

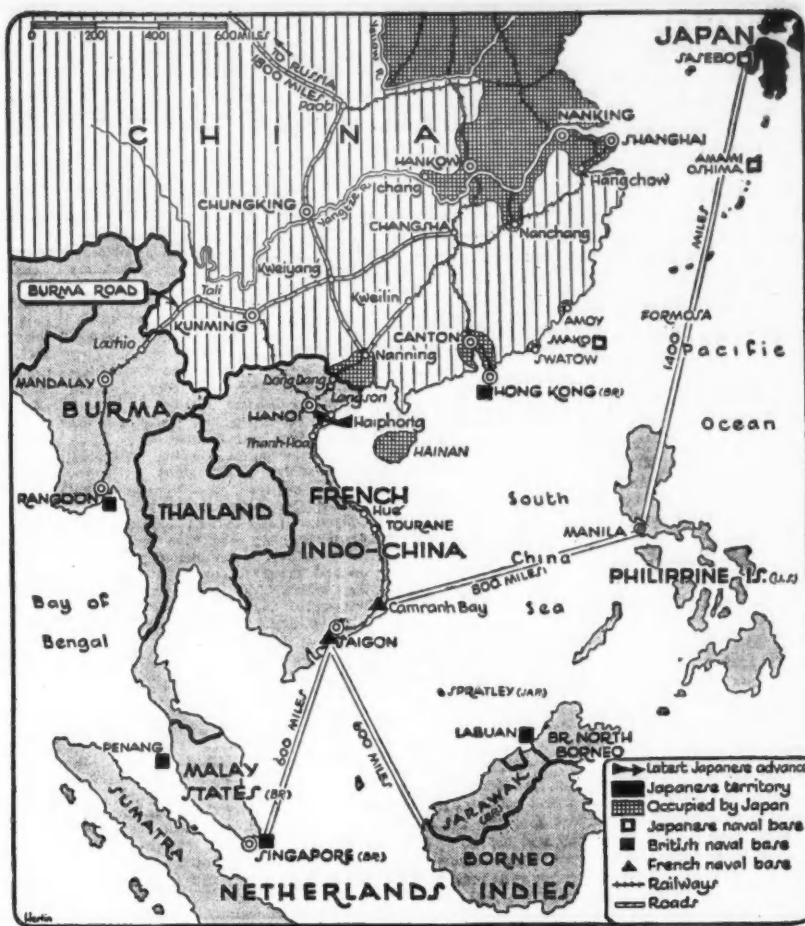
Let us take first the natural wealth of Indo-China. It is not overwhelming, but it is considerable. The common vista of the land—level rice fields through which natives in wide-brimmed hats wade knee-deep in water—reveals its chief product. The 2,500,000 tons of rice produced in Indo-China each year feeds 95 per cent of the people of the land, and accounts for 90 per cent of its exports. Rubber runs a close second. Last year 151,854,000 tons of this valuable substance produced in Indo-China sold for \$21,290,000—60 per cent of it going to France, and 40 per cent to the United States.

Northern Indo-China contains 20 billion tons of high-grade anthracite coal, of which 2,000,000 tons are mined annually. Eighty per cent of this fuel is exported, with more than half going to Japan, and a good proportion to China and France. There are also iron deposits in the same region, but transportation is poor, facilities for steel manufacture are lacking, and much of it remains undeveloped. Moderate quantities of tungsten, lead, graphite, phosphate, chromium ore, and manganese exist, but they are largely undeveloped also. Finally, in addition to the materials already named, Indo-China produces and exports in considerable quantity corn, dried fish, pepper, coffee, cinnamon, and tea.

Other Advantages

If Japan seriously intends to gain control of Indo-China, its natural wealth will represent no small gain. Indo-China is a region which produces raw materials, and it produces materials which Japan wants for her own industries. There is a fairly docile population to do the work, and also to serve as a market for low-priced Japanese manufactures.

The second possible objective of Japan's move into Indo-China is to find a way to strike at the heart of Chiang Kai-shek's



WHERE JAPAN SEEKS TO BUILD A "NEW ORDER"

COURTESY N.Y. TIMES

"Free China," where resistance to Japanese expansion is strongest and most dangerous. This region comprises three provinces of China—Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan (the last containing Chungking and the headquarters of the Chinese armies). These three provinces contain a normal population of 75,000,000, which is now swelled by a large portion of the 50,000,000 Chinese who have fled the Japanese-occupied areas. They contain the mines, factories, roads, and railways which are now being rushed and expanded at top speed to keep Chiang Kai-shek's military machine in operation. Kweichow contains large coal deposits. Yunnan is one of the world's largest sources of tin. The southwest provinces as a whole turn out 480 tons of copper annually, 6,600 tons of lead, 13,000 tons of zinc, and 7,400 tons of tin. Now these figures are quite small as compared with the production figures of other nations, but the products are vital to China.

For two full years the Japanese army has tried to hammer a way into this region. It has tried to push up the Yangtze. It has tried an overland drive from the middle Yangtze. It has tried an encircling movement from the north, and a drive along the Indo-Chinese border from the south. The campaign has been long, expensive, and futile, from a Japanese point of view. Again and again the Chinese armies have yielded, only to snap back into position a few weeks later. This may account for Japan's interest in Indo-China.

An Untried Route

In Indo-China the Japanese army command now has access to an untied route—over the railway line from Haiphong and Hanoi (see map) northward to the Chinese city of Kunming, capital of Yunnan and terminus of the Burma Road. Parallel with this railway runs the old Mandarin Road. It is possible that the Japanese will attempt to drive up this double route into Yunnan. But this may not be as easy as it seems. The railway winds through mountainous country, over high bridges, along steep banks, and through many tunnels. And between the Indo-Chinese border and Yunnan, stands a Chinese army of a million men, commanded by General Pai Chung-hsi, one of Chiang Kai-shek's ablest generals. The Chinese have intimated that they may invade Indo-China in self-defense, with the double purpose of preventing an attack up the railway, and preventing the Japanese from using Indo-Chinese air bases to bomb the Burma Road,

which passes close to the Indo-Chinese border.

The third possibility is that Japan may have her eyes on a more distant goal, and may contemplate making a start on a vast empire to the south while confusion still reigns in Europe and uncertainty in America. In this event, the Japanese could look upon Indo-China as the center of a huge semicircle of rich and populous lands—India, Burma, Thailand, the Malay States, the Dutch East Indies, and possibly the Philippines. If this is the case, hostilities against China will probably be dropped for the time being, for a southward thrust would require a tremendous effort. Bases in Indo-China make this effort possible.

Possible Air Bases

If these bases are established, Japanese planes will be based within 354 miles from Rangoon, the chief city of British Burma; 984 miles from Calcutta, in India; 500 miles from Singapore, Britain's one great Far Eastern stronghold; and 1,185 miles from Batavia, the capital of Java and the Dutch East Indies. This, the most ambitious of all Japanese dreams, is brought within the realm of reason by the fact that all of these lands except Thailand and the Philippines belong to European powers which have either been crushed, or are fighting for their very existence. If Japan, having someday subdued China, could bring this vast area, including India, Australia, and New Zealand, under her control, she might create the mightiest empire the world has ever seen, containing more than 1,060,000,000 people (half the population of the globe) and the world's richest sources of oil, rubber, tin, tungsten, fibre, copra, antimony, and many other products.

But the dream looks better than it sounds. China still fights on. Britain has not yet been felled; she has, in fact, been seriously considering reopening the Burma Road into China after October 18, when the three-month period expires during which it has been closed by agreement with Japan. Japanese economy has stood up better than most observers believed possible in the three-year-old war against China, but hints of slow exhaustion in news reports are becoming more frequent. Japan can no longer buy aircraft and aircraft parts, nor aviation gasoline, nor iron or steel scrap from the United States, as she did formerly. Cut off by the British-European blockade, she can buy from Germany, Italy, and the rest of Europe only as much as the already heavily taxed double track of Russia's Transiberian railway can carry.

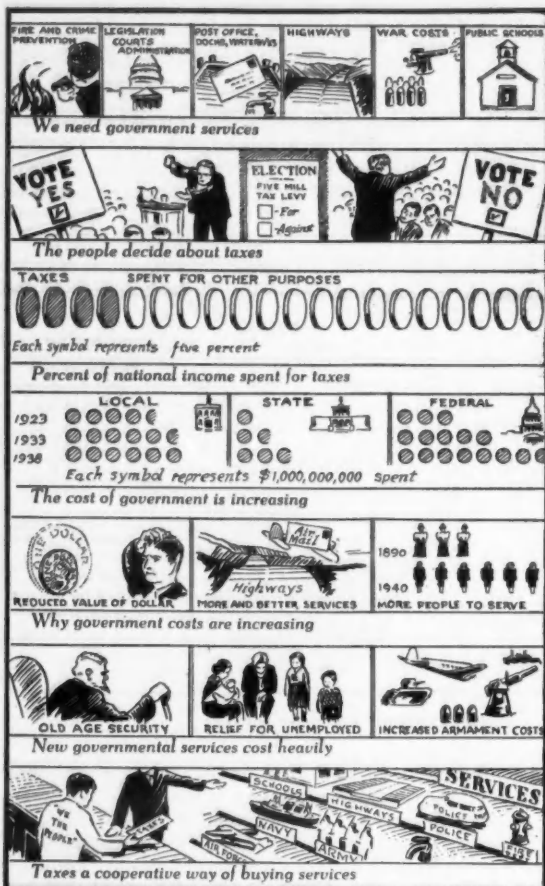


J. M. SCOVILLE FROM BLACK STAR

A STREET IN SAIGON, FRENCH INDO-CHINA



From Knowledge to Action



FINANCING OUR GOVERNMENT

Supporting Education

THE people of the nation must be educated if they are to produce enough of the necessities of life to go around so that there may be a high standard of living. Only educated people can handle the complex implements of this machine age. Only educated people can govern themselves wisely and maintain a strong, vital, growing democracy. Only a nation of educated people can be a nation of broad culture; the home of a happy population.

The American people have always believed these things, and so they have supported education; supported it generously. But problems have arisen about the support of the schools. It costs a great deal to give all the young people of a community an education. The people must tax themselves to pay the bills, and taxes everywhere are heavy. A good many taxpayers, some of them powerful politically, are insisting that educational costs be cut. Some of these demands are reasonable and others are not. But at any rate the problem of support for the schools has become an acute one in many places. Those who believe in education must study the problem carefully, to see that the schools are not crippled through lack of necessary support, and that, at the same time, unnecessary burdens are not placed upon taxpayers.

It is desirable at the outset to clear away certain misunderstandings about the cost of education. It is a fact that the cost of the schools in the United States increased very greatly during the first third of the twentieth century. It is a fact that 10 times as much was spent for the education of youth in 1930 as we spent in 1900. People sometimes assume that the great increase in the cost of education indicates that money was wasted and that the schools have been getting more than they need.

There is a threefold answer to this assumption. One fact to be noted is that attendance in elementary and high schools was more than three times as great in 1930 as in 1900. The attendance has not increased much since 1930. But three times as many pupils were being served at the end of the 30-year period which had seen

such a marked increase in school expenses. As late as 1910 only a little more than a million boys and girls were enrolled in high schools, while in 1938 the high school attendance was 6,750,000. To a considerable extent therefore, the increased expenditures were for the purpose of giving young Americans a high school education. Surely that is not a waste of money.

Another important fact relates to the difference in the value of money. A dollar in 1930 bought only a little more than half as much as before the World War. A community might pay twice as much for its schools as in the earlier period and yet buy no more for the money. If, then, the American people spent 10 times as many dollars for education in 1930 as in 1900, they were really, taking the value of dollars into account, spending only five times as much. And they were educating three times as many boys and girls.

Even so, the American people were spending somewhat more per pupil in 1930 than they were in 1900. The reason was that many improvements had been introduced into the schools. A generation ago the elementary school taught little more than the three R's, "Readin', 'Ritin', and 'Rithmetic." Now they give the children a broad training in personality and character and stimulate their interests over wide fields. The high schools formerly taught Latin, mathematics, English classics, and little else. Now they offer a wide variety of subjects so as to have something of value for every type of mind. They offer manual training, home economics, science, and training in many other fields. All this costs money; but few would be willing to go back to the narrow curriculum of the old days.

Attacking the Schools

There are a good many organizations and individuals in the country who are trying to have appropriations for the schools cut in order that taxes may be lowered. They have rather a hard time accomplishing this result because the schools are so popular. Some of the advocates of reduction are trying to meet that difficulty by discrediting the schools. If they can get people to thinking that the schools are failing—that they are not doing as good work as in the old days—the public will be more inclined to curtail support. So we are witnessing widespread attacks upon the schools.

No reasonable person wishes to increase educational costs unnecessarily, and every thinking American understands the difficulties of taxpayers. The problem should be considered from the standpoints of both the schools and the taxpayers. And the first step is the gathering of information. Every friend of education should be informed about the achievements of the schools. He should also be informed about the costs of the schools in his community.

It would be well for each class to select a committee of students to study the problem of financing the schools of the community. This committee should study the school budget, should know exactly what every item of expense is. It should know

also how the money is collected. It should know where the taxes come from. The necessary figures may be obtained from the principal's office. This committee should talk about school finance not only with the principal, but with prominent taxpayers. It should find out what the real problems are, it should study local taxation in general, and it should have an idea of possible changes in the tax system of the state or city or county. In many cases, the schools would be better supported if a plan of taxation should be devised whereby the taxes are less burdensome. Nearly all students of the problem agree that the schools are now obliged in most states to depend too exclusively upon one form of taxation and one alone; that of the general property tax. The members of this committee should study the problem of the support of the schools so thoroughly that they will know as much about the question of school finance as does any man or woman in the city or county. They can then present their findings to the other members of the class.

This committee should report to the class sometime preceding November 12, the day devoted to consideration of financing public education as a part of the Education Week program. Then on November 12, the report may be brought up for discussion in the class. This will constitute an effective form of civic action.

Suggested Program

The National Education Association suggests that such questions as the following be discussed in homerooms and classrooms:

What is the cost of education in the United States? In your state?

Why have school costs risen rapidly in recent decades?

Why do school costs represent a smaller fraction of the tax dollar now than in 1929?

In some states only about \$30 per year per pupil is spent for education whereas in others the expenditure runs as high as \$130 a year. Can this inequality be justified in a democracy?

What is the cost of education per year per pupil in your local school system? How does this compare with state and national costs?

What are the sources of your local school funds? What percentage comes from local, county, state, and national sources?

Is the tax system of your state equitable? Compare its features with those of the model tax system proposed by the National Tax Association.

The trend of general governmental expenditures as compared with the expenditure for schools.

Why should adults who have no children be required to pay school taxes?

Prepare charts and graphs pertaining to important aspects of local school finance.

Have an assembly addressed by the superintendent, board member, or other person on the problems of school finance and suggesting ways in which pupils may help to conserve school dollars without in any way handicapping

the educational program of your locality.

Debate such questions as the following:
Resolved: That the federal government should participate in the financing of education in the states.

Resolved: That our state government should bear a larger proportion of the expense of local schools.

Another Way to Do It

Miss Yvonne Fisher, of the Grand Haven, Michigan, High School, comments as follows on recent suggestions appearing in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER concerning the formation and conduct of discussion clubs:

In your edition of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER for September 23, 1940, you presented an article on discussion clubs and gave your theory as to how they should be organized and conducted. We disagree with you on every point except that statement which says that attendance should be voluntary.

Our high school has had a discussion club for the past year, and it has been very successful. We meet once a week, have no officers, no roll call is taken, and no dues are collected. We believe that in a meeting held for the purpose of discussion, people should feel free from the burdens of officers, dues, and attendance records. We want to have an informal discussion, and our club has just that. As yet we have had no cause to discipline anyone, and if someone has something more important to do on that night, he is free to do as he wishes.

Two of the faculty members organized our club, and they attend each meeting. Our membership is not specifically limited to high school students. Occasionally people who graduated from high school one or two years ago come to the meetings, which are held once a week, and this makes our discussion much more interesting and lively.

This plan may not work in some schools, but we have found it very successful here in Grand Haven, and thought you might like to hear about it.

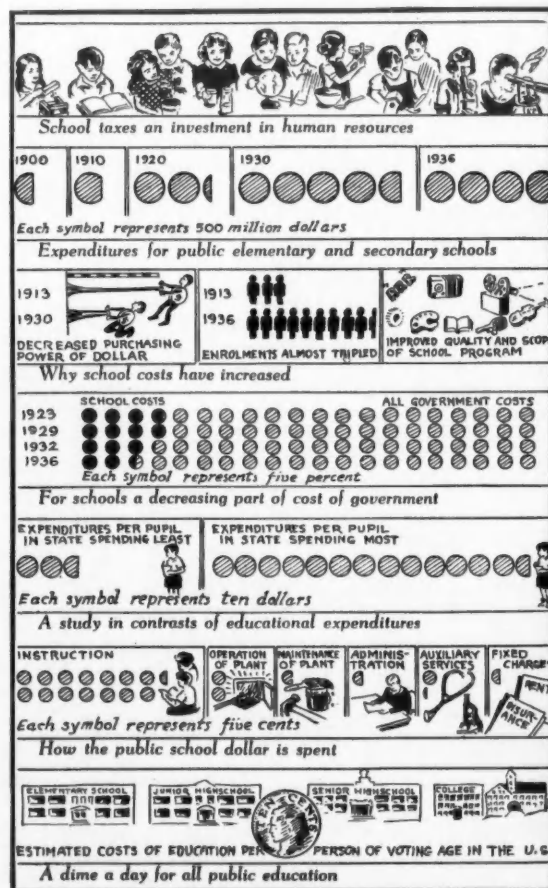
Information Test Answers

American History

1. (a) Democratic, (b) Republican, (c) Democratic, (d) Republican. 2. Andrew Johnson. 3. Sioux Indians. 4. False. 5. Warren Harding.

Geography

1. International Date Line. 2. Mt. Everest, Indo-China. 3. Amazon. 4. Appalachians, Adirondacks, Rockies. 5. (a) Texas, (b) Pennsylvania, (c) Minnesota.



FINANCING PUBLIC EDUCATION